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July 13, 1945

SIR JOHN ORR, PRESIDENT OF PEACE COUNCIL

SIR JOHN BOYD ORR, DSO, MC, FRS, the famous scientist, who was among the signatories of the recent National Petition for a Constructive Peace, has been elected President of the National Peace Council, the representative body for some forty national organizations concerned with peace and international affairs. He has a worldwide reputation as an authority on nutrition.

Sir John, who was MP for the Sir John, who was MP for the Scottish Universities in the last Parliament, made a notable maiden speech last month when he declared, in a debate on National Health: "The two great aggressors of health are inadequate food and inadequate housing." In his election address he dealt with this from the international dealt with this from the international aspect—showing, incidentally, the kind of action which constructive

kind of action which constructive peace-making requires.

"The quickest way to bring about world unity," he wrote, "is to get governments to co-operate for a definite positive objective which will be to the advantage of all nations. There could be no better objective than a world food plan based on human needs. Before the war, lack of adequate food, one of the main causes of disease and untimely death, affected more than half of the worlds population, including many millions in our own country...

"If the nations which united and pooled their resources to free the world from Nazism would remain united and pool their resources to free the world from halimultition, the first step would be taken to build-

trition, the first step would be taken to build-ing the new and better world which science has made possible. . . ."

At its annual meeting the National Peace Council also added to its list of vice-presidents the following:

Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, Lord Noel-Buxton, the Earl of Darnley, the Bishop of Bradford, Mr. P. M. Oliver, Dr. Charles E. Raven, Prof. Herbert G. Wood, Mrs. C. S. Ganley and Mr. Victor Gollancz.

"Vigilantes" used non-violence!

Melbourne.

Two years ago it was necessary for Mrs. H. H. Thomson to go into a hospital for treatment, so she rented her home for a year. When she came out of the hospital, she asked for the return of her home but

the occupant refused.

Mrs. Thomson instituted legal action, but time passed without results. She then appealed to the Brotherhood of Saint Laurence for help. The Brotherhood let the matter proceed by orthodox means—until they proved fruitless. Then they approached the tenant personally and tried to persuade him to forgo the legal rights of himself and the sub-tenant he had installed. All such personal appeals failed.

Thereupon three members of the Brotherhood occupied the verandah of the premises and announced their intention of camping there until Mrs. Thomson was permitted to occupy her home. They pointed out the widespread injustices which exist under Australia's housing laws at the present time, and asked for improved housing conditions through-

out Australia.

After 38 days' occupation of the verandah, the Brotherhood was able to withdraw, having won possession of the home for the owner. A wider rignificance of this action lies in its significance of this action lies in its impact on the authorities responsible for the Housing Laws and Regulations: strong moves towards amendment have been evident and are still proceeding. Even more important, such action dramatizes an effective method of causing social changes without the use of violence.—World Goodwill Service.

GERMANY AS TEST OF **ALLIED UNITY**

WHERE TWO SYSTEMS MEET

HE withdrawal of recognition from the Polish government in exile is a painful event in British history, over which decency demands that we should pass in embarrassed 2d. silence. Nevertheless, given the circumstances, the solution reached in the reconstruction of the Lublin government seems the best that was obtainable; and we need not doubt the reports that the bulk of the Polish people feel relief at the prospect of a stable government and the be-

ginnings of a more normal life. Any order is better than none. There is at least a reasonable chance that ultimately the Polish peasantry will fare better under the new régime

than ever they did under the old one. One may also reasonably hope that the Roman Catholics will not be submitted to the old process of forcible conversion to Orthodoxy. But it will be a long time before we shall know, or indeed be in a position to judge, how far the "free and independent Poland" which Russia has promised in a roality. is a reality.

The new China

THE tragic drama of Poland may be repeated on a much larger scale in China, says W. H. Chamber-lin in Human Events (June 13) "unless the Communist-Kuomintang feud can be settled on terms that make possible a genuinely united country." But that is much easier

Observer's Commentary

said than done. These ideal solutions —we have learned by many a bitter lesson-are never realised.

It is now as certain as anything can be that Japan will go down in utter defeat, though perhaps after an incredibly bitter and protracted struggle. It is equally certain that the political vacuum in the Far East will eventually be filled by a new China. Again eventually, one may China. Again eventually, one may prophesy that in the new China the divergent streams of Russian-Communist and Western-Democratic influence will be united, and a new form of civilization emerge. But the steps and phases of the travail of this new creation are beyond our power to anticipate.

"The test is here"

IF USA, Britain, and Russia can really agree upon and pursue a common policy with regard to Germany, then there is no reason why they should not evolve a common policy with regard to China. I like very much the remark of Gen. Clay, who is Eisenhower's second-in-command for the occupation of Germany, when asked whether the four-Power occupation of Germany could

possibly succeed.

"Gen. Clay slapped a fist into his other hand and said: 'It's got to work. If the four of us cannot get together now in running Germany, how are we to get together in an international organisation to secure the peace of the world? The test is here." (Time, June 25.)

That is the fact. If that test can be passed successfully, then we could have a good hope that the even more tremendous problems of the Far East another world-war.

Turning-point

AS it is folly to be sanguine, so it is folly to be pessimistic concerning the possibility of real co-operation between the Big Three in the administration and shaping of the

new Germany.

There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.

The history of the world is now at a point where it may go either way: towards the increase of trust which alone will make international peace possible, or towards the increase of distrust which will make world-war inevitable. The former, in my belief, is just as likely as the latter; and for that we must work so far as we have opportunity.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Poison gas?

THE question whether the USA should use gas against the Japanese has been lengthily debated in American newspapers. "The loudest proponent of using poison gas has been the New York Daily News, which has been plugging for it in editorials, reports Stars and Stripes, June 30. "Maj. George Fielding Eliot, the columnist, also urged the use of gas.

"Arguments for it are the expected ones: That it would save American lives and speed the end of the war, that it would be no more inhumane than burning Japs to death with white phosphorus or flame-throwers. . .

"But the opponents of use of gas are equally vocal, basing their argument principally on the question of humanity. New York's PM summed up arguments against gas in a full-page editorial contending that gas might prove worthless after the first surprise . . . and the only result might be to add a 'new element of horror' to the

"Opponents also contend that the US would forfeit the high esteem of the world and its position as champion of international morality if it should resort to the use of gas except as a retaliatory measure in the event the Japs used it first."

Bombing of Japanese civilians:

American plea for mercy

THIS LETTER, FROM ONE WHO HAS LIVED AMONG THE COMMON PEOPLE OF JAPAN, APPEARED IN "THE CALL," THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY, ON JUNE 4:

)UR newspapers announcing almost daily the complete destruction of a vast residential area of some Japanese city by American inflammatory bombs. These bombings of civilians are announced as if they were something to make Americans happy and proud. But many of us readers are horrified and sick at heart.

When bombing first became an important method of warfare, back in the days when German or Italian planes bombed the cities of Spain, American opinion was outraged. For years Americans protested whenever any nation did not take pains to direct its bombs on military objec-tives only. But in American bomb-ings of Japanese cities, no least attempt has been made to confine the bombings to military objectives the bombings to military objectives.

Some of the winter bombings were done through a snowstorm, and fliers had to back after the fires stopped raging to see what had been hit. How many had perished in the flames could not be known. But the Imperial palace had been spared. Are not the wrong people being tortured and killed?

I know the ordinary, hard-working oppressed common people of Tokio. I taught for three years in a Quaker girls' school there—a school which with its adjoining Quaker Meeting

are | House has doubtless gone up in the

I saw a fire there once myself. It was the missionaries' home next to the one I lived in. Two American families were living there, one with two small children.

The fire started before breakfast from a defective flu, the people rushed out and sent in an alarm, but the flames prevented their going back upstairs to get any of their possessions. The fire engines arrived quickly but were able to save only the first storey. All of my friends' clothes were burned.

I realized then what a dreadful thing it is to lose all your possessions. But all day long kindly Japanese neighbours came bringing gifts, particularly new clothes for the children and expressing their deep sympathy and offering their help.

Even before the fire was put out, the little Japanese baker with whom we traded came up the hill carrying two great trays full of steaming hot rolls, explaining shyly that he realized when he saw the flames that we would not be able to prepare breakfast and he thought we might want something to eat. These are not the people who caused the war. They are its victims as truly as the victims at Pearl Harbour.

What is there that they could do to escape this horror? One cannot call up to a bomber and say, "We will surrender. Only do not kill us." Or if they did, the bomber pilot would not hear. And they are not in power over official statements.

Is it not time to call a halt? Let our government suggest decent terms to the Japanese government, and let us bring the awful war to an end by diplomacy not by continued slaughter of the innocent. This would save the lives of many of our own American boys too.

ROSAMOND H. CLARK. Flushing, N. Y.

"400,000 died in Hamburg"

"According to a German police estimate made before the city was captured by the British, Allied bombs killed about 400,000 of a population which before the war was 1,682,000," said Drew Pearson in a dispatch from Hamburg in an early edition of the Evening Standard on June 23. The dispatch did not appear in later editions of the paper.

ON SICKNESS BENEFIT

discovered a novel method of benefiting our cause. He employs another CO to work C.O. market-gardener friend of ours has with him, who recently fell ill. When payday came round the employer proferred the usual wages in full. As he had done no work that week, however, the employee hesitated to accept. So it was arranged between them that the money should be sent to Headquarters Fund. Both our friends express satisfaction that WE at least have profited by this sickne benefit but hope their good example will not be widely followed and result in a general of sickness among CO-landworkers. We, a trifle reluctantly, agree, especially at such a busy season for farmers!

But there are other ways of benefiting our Fund. We are always glad when new and interesting ideas occur to our supporters, especially if a letter describing them accompanies the contribution. Should nothing particularly novel emerge in that way for a while we shall not give up hope. Some quite unforeseen event may happen again as in the case of our two agricultural friends. We agreed with them that an epidemic would hardly do as a method of increasing our finances, but perhaps next time Providence will see to it that the idea can be more generally adopted and to the benefit of ALL concerned. while we shall not give up hope. Some quite unforeseen event may happen again as in the case of our two agricultural friends. We agreed with them that an epidemic would hardly do as a method of increasing our finances, but perhaps next time Providence will see to it that the idea can be more generally adopted and to the benefit of ALL concerned.

MAUD ROWNTREE

CORDER CATCHPOOL

Joint Treasurers

Contributions to HQ Fund since June 29:
£10 5s. 6d. Year's total to date: £240 7s. 2d.
Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

AFTER THE DOGFIGHT

THE incorrigible adolescence of Mr. Churchill, which prevents one from ever disliking him com-pletely, was very much in evidence in the last days of the election campaign. He seemed to seize with avidity on the rhetorical equivalent of throwing rotten eggs, as though it were a magnificent let-up from the cares of leadership in war. His severer critics say it was an

altogether deplorable exhibition which will have disastrous consequences. We are not so sure. The sudden and deliberate descent of the man from the pedestal of the party-transcending national hero to the rampaging party man in an electioneering dogfight may do as much good as harm. That he himself should have played ducks and drakes with his own halo is better than that his opponents, who were morally ill-equipped for the job, should have to try to snatch it from him. He has at least fairly freed the country from any political inhibi-

Perhaps, too, this election was best conducted on Eatanswill lines. The deeper problem—the discovery of a domestic and foreign policy, acceptable to democracy, which will make possible the maintenance of full employment in a society whose economic position has substantially worsened was one which no party dared honestly to present to the electorate, or to itself. In this sense the election has been unreal. It is probably true that the next government, whatever its political complexion, will be compelled to do and to refrain from doing much the same things for the brief term of its existence. Whether it be Tory or Labour, it will soon come the dickers of a greenver ever come the dickens of a cropper over the housing question.

Speaking roughly, there are two essentials of a tolerable solution of the housing problem. One is control of land-values, which the Tories will not have. The other, increased productivity of labour engaged on building, which Labour will not have. A real cheapening of the cost of materials is acceptable to neither interest. Either party in power will, therefore, fall down on this urgent

It is so urgent that it will probably be revolutionary. The common man will not put up for long with the failure to find his family house-room. By calling it a revolutionary issue, we do not mean that it will be solved by violent revolution; but that it will knock the bottom out of both major parties, and compel a radically different political set-up which will solve the deeper problem-somehow.

It may seem paradoxical that an apparently purely domestic matter should be the crucial issue after six years of total war, when all the vast problems of the world are clamouring for solution. But it is symbolical of total war, which is destructive not so much of human life as of human civilisation. It catastrophically degrades the level of human living. It is war, not within civilisation, but catastrophically degrades the level of numan living. It is war, not within civilisation, but against civilisation itself. It destroys the physical foundation of civilisation, which is the family home. And men will react violently when they emerge from the compulsions of the war-machine, to the absence of a place where they can "live"—that is, enjoy the basic conditions of peaceful living which they have had to exercise so long.

which they have had to sacrifice so long.

What will be the outcome of this reaction against the frustration of their lives? We may talk airily of "a swing to the Left"; but may talk airily of "a swing to the Left"; but we know by experience that that just as easily lands a country in Fascism as Communism, and that there is not an awful lot to choose between them. What we may hope for, and work for, is a change in the whole level of social awareness: the beginnings at least of a discovery of a hierarchy of human values, of a genuinely democratic or humane conception of the true end of man. In our opinion the the true end of man. In our opinion the coming housing crisis will be the forerunner, or outward symptom, of a spiritual crisis. This crisis may end in a pretty complete breakdown of our society, not through a division of classes, but through a split in the human personality; or it may be the beginning of a new integration.

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It depends on what you mean by . . .

reactions. Chiefly, I am accused of "having lost faith in pacifism."

That, I must say clearly, seems to me an almost meaningless phrase. It is utterly vague. Were I to put my hand upon my heart and declare "I have faith in pacifism," I should not know what I was saying.

The notion that the word "paci-sm" has a clear meaning, that it fism ' is a definite creed to which members of the PPU are committed, is unwarranted. Neither the Pledge which unites us, nor the Affirmations in to which a certain nucleus of common belief has been formulated, contain this abstract word.

The Pledge itself contains no mention of pacifism or faith. It says simply: "I renounce war, and refuse support or sanction another.' The Pledge can be legitimately taken by the man who says to himself: "I have little hope of the triumph of good or peace in this world: but I, personally, must henceforward refuse to participate in war." It can equally be taken by the man who believes that there is some practic-able non-violent alternative to the war-method. But the latter has no shadow of right to accuse the former of "lack of faith in pacifism."

II is, I think, fortunate that the Pledge in no way commits one to "faith in pacifism"; because many "faith in pacifism"; because many signatories, like myself, who have no idea what "faith in pacifism" means, would have been unable to sign it.

Certainly, I can understand what they mean who say that they have faith that love will eventually overcome the evil in the world. I also understand what they mean who say that they believe that some method of non-violent resistance will here and now overcome tyranny in ail its

As executive members of a Committee

formed in 1941 to represent English COs in Jersey, we wish to qualify some of the state-

This report seems to suggest that the majority of us have failed to observe an obligation to continue land-work; but of those remaining after the arrival of the German forces, over a quarter were not legally COs, not having been called-up; of the registered COs a few had complete exemption, and the others a choice of forestry or hospital work, apart from agriculture.

According to our records, after the deporta-

tion to Germany in the autumn of 1942, only 34 men remained on the Island. At the end of the Occupation, employment figures were as follows: 23 men were engaged in agricul-ture, forestry, essential services or hospital-

work. Of the remaining 11, some had temporarily to give up heavy work for reasons of health, and others have the right to argue that conditions under German occupation had

changed.

The man reported as imprisoned for theft, was neither a registered CO nor a professing pacifist, as was the case with a few others, who happened to come here under the privately sponsored scheme. It is believed that the two men reported as having left the Island in 1940, were British-nationalised Dutchmen, seeking to re-establish contact with their relations in Holland.

Greetings from the group in Jersey and

congratulations to Peace News on its fine work throughout the war.

RENE FRANOUX

We did not intend our report to convey the impression that COs in Jersey failed to fulfil

an obligation. A last-minute cut which had to be made in the report led to the eliminaelped to convey a more accurate mpression.

tion of details that would probably have

My father sends me the following account of his personal experience.

because I could not understand orders issued to me concerning the task they wished me to do. I have also been thrashed with a large stick of wood and carried weals on my body and legs for many a week. Reason? Similar to above. I reported the matter to Headquarters... and got so fed up asking about my case and he (the Headquarters Officer) got so fed up too that he wouldn't even listen to me.

"It was usual for the Germans to call at

personal experiences of German control in Guernsey:

"I have been kicked by the Germans because I could not understand orders issued

personal stories by COs who were

C. J. PHILLIPS

s from th

35 Broad St., St. Helier, Jersey.

in Jersey appear on page 5.-Ed.

An account from Guernsey

ments made by your correspondent (Jun issue) rgarding our position during Occupation.

C.O.s in Jersey

Y recent article on "Non-violence versus Tyranny" has provoked some violent Faith in pacifism?

by J. Middleton Murry

signing the Peace Pledge. In particular, if this latter belief is what "faith in pacifism" means, I say categorically that the Peace Pledge does not imply "faith in pacifism" himself, in founding the Peace Pledge himself, in founding the Peace Pledge tall at all.

Pacifism is a relatively new word in the English language. It does not appear at all in the body of the great Oxford Dictionary, but only in the Supplement. The first reference given is in 1901, in a report of the speech of a Frenchman at the Tenth Universal Peace Congress; and the definition given is this:

"The policy of avoiding or abolishing war by the use of arbitration in settling international disputes; advocacy or support of this policy, or belief in its practicability; often, with depreciatory implication, the advocacy of peace at any price."

Actually, the word was coined, in France, at the turn of the 19th century, to express the new attitude of mind aroused by the Tsar's appeal for world peace which resulted in the convocation of the Hague Peace Conference.

Since those days, and particularly between 1919 and 1939, the main emphasis of the word has shifted towards the second meaning given by the Oxford Dictionary. Pacifism is now chiefly understood to be the advocacy of peace at any price.

SOME members of the PPU reacted against being described as pacifists in this sense. They declared that they did not advocate peace at any price. Their imaginations were captured by Mr. Gandhi's philosophy and policy of mass nonviolent resistance; and they claimed that by this means pacifists could overcome an enemy who adopted the war-method.

In practice, therefore, "faith in pacifism" means either faith in the practicability of persuading men in What I do not for one moment practicability of persuading men in admit is that either of these beliefs the mass to adopt the policy of peace is in any way implied in the act of at any price; or faith in the efficacy

your house with a car if you didn't turn up for work and imprison you for a week or so. They wouldn't give you your employment card; and without that no other work could be obtained.

"I have seen Frenchmen, Africans and

Dutchmen kicked until they lay on the ground insensible. Their misdeameanour was merely they were having a chat together.

"I sum up the Germans, giving due allowance for circumstances, in this way: There are good Germans, as there are good and bad in covery nation. I have worked with some

in every nation. I have worked with some that would, and did, give me almost anything they possessed. But a good kicking and aim

Union, intended no more than to try out whether the nation as a whole, or a sufficient part of it to be decisively influential, could be persuaded to peace at any price before the threatening world war burst upon us: and they have contended that, if he had lived to see the PPU fail as a popular movement, his whole attitowards it would have changed.

I do not profess to know what his attitude would have been. My own feeling is that he launched a movement which must find its own way of life and reasons for living. It was, above all else, to be a humane, imaginative and non-fanatical movement, sufficiently sensitive to experience to be positively shaped by it, wary of barren catch-words and facile optimism, having for its prime objective not the negative resistance to war, but the positive re-personalisation of human relations.

ONE purpose of my article was to warn readers of Peace News against the easy belief that there is any "pacifist technique" by which the tyranny of totalitarianism can be successfully resisted. It was directed against what I believe to be the wishful thinking of much political pacifism.

At the political level I believe we have nothing valid to say except what is in the nature of truism: as, for example, that "wars will cease when men refuse to fight." That is a plain

statement of fact.

Equally, it is true that internal tyranny will cease when men refuse to do violence to one another. Some may believe that men will arrive at this condition in a generation or two; others, having regard to the long history of Christianity, will be deeply dubious of such a consummation. But that will not alter their determination as individuals renounce war.

My article had another purpose also: to set my readers thinking seriously on the question: Which is in fact the greater evil, international war or internal tyranny? Not that I feel certain that it is possible to give a definite answer to the question. But I think events have made it plain that the hitherto unquestioned assumption that international war is the greatest of all evils is one that can no longer be taken for granted. It may well be that the world has reached a point at which the internal war of spiritual anni-hilation practised by the totalitarian police-State is more devastating to the spirit of man than international

Anyway, I incline to believe that the cleavage between those who re-nounce war and those who do not is less important than that between those who, for any reason, condone internal tyranny and those who do not. That corresponds to the spirit of the affirmations and to my own instinctive feeling. I have never felt any great gulf in sentiment between myself and the man who, as many did, made up his mind after deep consideration that it was his moral duty to fight against Nazism. I feel much more sympathy with such a man than with those pacifists-I personally have met but few-who look upon a conscientious fighter against totalitarianism as a moral leper. (A further comment on Mr. Murry's recent article, by A. G. Higgins, appears on page 4.)

to catch you in the genitals, apart from a thrashing with a big stick, seems to rub away a lot of the good which is found. Finally, I must say they are cruel and dirty and showed themselves brutal in the last few weeks." JIM LE NOURY, 4 The Grove, Poolsbrook, Chesterfield.

LETTERS

The Pope and peace Early in 1944 you published a letter from Michael de la Bedovere in which he urged that

Michael de la Bedoyere in which he urged that "all men who are agreed that there musn't be another war should get together . . . before it is too late." He appealed for a united effort by pacifists and non-pacifists and suggested the formation of "a reasonable and practical charter of peace in harmony with the Papal lead. ."

It so happened that at that time a small body of Roman Catholics in this country were inaugurating a Peace Society. This Society—the Society of the Peace of Christ—has since taken definite form and its aims are closely akin to Bedoyere's suggestions. In addition to praying for peace, its methods include the study and dissemination of Papal utterances and traditional Catholic theology concerning war and peace, the promotion of Christian unity and co-operation with other Christians war and peace, the promotion of Christian unity, and co-operation with other Christians

unity, and co-operation with other Christians of all nations who are working for peace.

The Society does not claim to be formally pacified but seeks to bridge the gulf between the conscientious war-participant and the conscientious war-resister and to unite all men of good will who are prepared to accept and follow the Pope's lead. It emphasises the Church's teaching on the ultimate supremacy of conscience, opposes conscription and recognises that certain aspects of modern industrialism are incompatible with Christianity and among the many causes which make for war.

war.
Full membership is restricted to Roman Catholics but other Christians are welcomed as Associates. Inasmuch as the sphere of activities of the SPC differs from that of any activities of the SPC dillers from that of any other existing peace society I trust you will afford me this opportunity of bringing it to the notice of your readers. Full particulars can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. John G. Heathcote, 14 Ardbeg Rd., Herne Hill, S.E.24, or from myself.

H. GORDON MOORE.
Provisional Chairman, S.P.C.
54 Church Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

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The last of the humanists

Back Words and Fore Words, By Laurence Housman. (Cape, 10s. 6d.).

THE anthology belongs, perhaps, to the machine-age philosophy of making-all-things-easy: here is a way of acquiring, without the trouble of deep reading, a superficial knowledge of a particular subject, a phase of literature, or the work of an individual writer; we lap up the cream—for such we are always assured that it is—which another has skimmed

LAURENCE HOUSMAN, known to the world as author and dramatist, writer makes for us an anthology of his own writings, for he is not necessarily the best and least partial judge of his work. Further, a characteristic of Mr. Housman as a writer is his aptitude for producing short rather than lengthy pieces, for achieving a years to the cause of dramatic moment rather than a play, a thought rather than thought itself; he appears to lack the power to sustain and develop vidual writer, one who keeps his very varied inspiration. In level and in the second of the s

his very varied inspiration. In "Back Words and Fore Words" he often seems, therefore, to be giving us extracts of extracts, so snort as to be meaningless, too short to arouse our interest in the whole from which they came. The book is inevitably somewhat unsatisfying, and an irritated and frustrated reader will not be easily persuaded to turn from these pages to the body of Mr. Housman's work.

But when one has quarrelled with the book as a book, there remains much to praise and enjoy in it; for a fair number of its items are comdiscovering for the first time (for instance, the charming story, "The Man Who Did Not Pray," and a very moving poem on pp. 196-7). And Mr. Housman has achieved his aim of propositions at a chieven the cutting of the continuous statements. presenting, at a glance, the outline of a very varied, prolific and indi-

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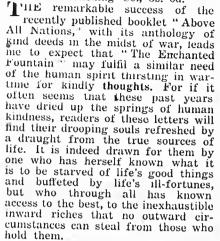
by Baroness Josephine Von Reitzenstein

Introduction by Vera Brittain "All the Germans are the same," maintains one school of so-called shought in this country. Are they? Read this book, and then say whether you do not rather agree that the Germans, like the British, the Americans and the Russians, are a collection of varied individuals, good, and good, bad, indifferent, stupid—or noble, tender and imaginative, like the writer of these pages. Let us read, mark and learn from them, lest we enter into the temptation to lose our perspective and humility, and with these vital qualifies our human capacity to perceive true loveliness on the heights where it dwells. -- VERA BRITTAIN.

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BOOKS

TO LONDON BLITZ FROM PRUSSIAN ESTATE



Yes; Josephine von Reitzenstein has experienced the cruel blows of fate. But she who could live, with the simple joy and beauty here por-trayed, the bountiful life of a German noblewoman, wife of a Junker on a Prussian estate, was at the same time possessed of the sterling temper which carried her, upon the full turn of fortune's wheel, with courage and dignity through the hard lot of domestic service to a strange household in a foreign land, and then into the unknown terrors of the London blitz the London blitz.

PERSECUTION

make him at all times readable.

These gifts illuminate alike the Old Testament, the persons of religious, literary or national history, and indeed any subject from the fairy tale to social questions. Against them must be set a liking for archaisms, a too facile descent into sentimentality and a tendency to pretty whimsicalities (faults which an anthology such as this emphasises as clearly as it emphasises a writer's better qualities). Baroness Reitzenstein's was Jewish. That, she tells her daughter, was the "curse" of their present lives. The quotation marks are hers, for she would be the first to say that only moral weakness could write that word across a life endowed with true spiritual resources. Over with true spiritual resources. Over the happy home and family life of casionally lapses, if this thought and vision are somewhat superficial, his which these pages now so poignantly tell, over Schloss and garden flooded by sunshine or deep under snow, by lake and forest, amidst the love of friends and the friendship of animals, human joy and tears, whose sympathy is boundless (and active), and whose realisation of Christianity's meaning transcends theology. Mr-Housman is the last of the humanists, and one of the most courageous. there crept an ever-darkening shadow the shadow of the coming Nazi persecution.

Before the final tragedy, a different but hardly less bitter blow, in the premature death of the young husband and father, was to fall upon that gracious and sunny existence—carefree, I was going to say—but carefree only because even when left alone with her two young children, the bereaved mother possessed thuse inward treasures of love and sessed those inward treasures of love and devotion which can still free human life, not by exempting it from all cares, but by lifting it above them.

to above them.

So, as the young widow tells in these conversations with her daughter, she began to prepare the minds of her children, always her friends, companions and confidentes, for something that was soon to come like a second

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. fd. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace New filedge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised. to have been a doorkeeper in the House of the Lord than one of the

The Enchanted Fountain. By Baroness
Josephine Von Reitzenstein. New
Vision Publishing Co., 3s. 6d.
THE remarkable success of the
recently published booklet "Above
All Nations of with its authology of

THE TWO WORLDS

Landing penniless in London with her boy, Josephine Reitzenstein started the hard life of an enemy alien, refugee from Nazi oppression, earning her bread by manual toil. In air-raid shelters during the blitz, these loveletters were written, by one of those tragic souls who belong to and who love two worlds divided by hate and war, to her daughter left behind in Germany.

Their wise and winsome philosophy of life, unspoilt by any tinge of bitterness or cynicism, bridge again the chasms that have broken humanity into pieces. They renew our faith in the simple human kindness of men everywhere, and help restore something of its natural grace and charm to a world which for years has crushed those pearls beneath the wheels of tanks.

Every nation or people produces such rare spirits, who therefore belong to all humanity; who have seen so much that is cruel and sordid in life, and yet retain through all their sense of the potential—nay, actual—beauty and loveliness of living. This, it is here revealed to us, is "The Enchanted Fountain," the "simple inner knowledge that there is good in every human being, and the warm feeling that one can but try to light upon it hidden deep down in human souls."

CORDER CATCHPOOL



Plan for Palestine

The Palestine Watching Committee of the Society of Friends has re-published, as a 3d. pamphlet, an article on "Reconciliation in Palestine," by Edgar B. Castle, which originally appeared in The Hibbert Journal in

January.

The author balances the legitimate political claims of the Arabs against the strong human claims of the Jews, and declares that "the truth remains that Arab and Jew must live together." He outlines the concessions that must be made on both sides if this is to be achieved, and says that Britain "can no longer allow imperial or economic considerations to divert her from making paramount in her attitudes to Palestine the over-riding duty of acting solely in the interests of the two peoples over whose destiny she has been placed by international agreement."

Britain—and perhaps other nations—can also

Britain—and perhaps other nations—can also help the process of reconciliation by encouraging enlightened moderate opinion on both sides and by action to prepare "for the common responsibility of Arab and Jew to organize their own country within a wider economic and political federation."

The Christian in the State

The Christian in the State

"It is not possible for a Christian to live in the State today without experiencing an acute sense of tension. Daily living is made up of the baffling claims of conflicting loyalties." This is Alan G. Knott's summingup of the problem he deals with in "The Christian and the State" (6d. from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.I)—the greater part of which was originally given as an address at the FoR Conference at Bangor in August, 1944. He discusses the origins of traditional Christian teaching on this subject, showing how the nature of the problem itself has changed since the days of the early Church, and concludes with a reminder that "for the Christian there is always one final loyalty which transcends all these lesser loyalties, and that is his duty to the universal family of God." family of God.

Should C.O.s "close down"?

"Should C.O.s as such 'close down' after the war? The idea is an attractive one, for only the man or woman with a martyr-complex wants to remain one of a small and unpopular minority movement without good cause." The issue is discussed in "The Ranks of Conscience," by Denis Hayes, pamphlet published by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Friends' Meeting House, Clifford St., York), price 3d. In 16 pages the pamphlet gives an excellent survey of the development of the CO movement during the war, and the author makes out a strong case for his argument that "on no account must we relax our efforts yet."

Dr. Temple on punishment

The Howard League for Penal Reform has published a new edition of the pamphlet "The Ethics of Punishment," consisting of the John Howard Anniversary Sermon originally preached at St. Martin-in-the-Fields by the late Dr. William Temple in 1930. It has a particular interest for pacifists and, as the publishers say in a note to the second edition, the fundamental principles it lays down "have supreme practical importance for the world in 1945." (The pamphlet costs 6d. from the Howard League, Parliament Mansions, Abbey Orchard St., London, S.W.1.)

Prison routine

TOWARDS WORLD-LAW

"Common Sense" Today. By Dr. Constitution will be a Court of Kurt Lachmann. Books, 2s. 6d.

none. What prevents him from being "popular" appears to be an invin-

cible literariness; what prevents him from being great a fine talent falling short of genius. His humour,

lucidity, originality and humanity make him at all times readable.

But if Mr. Housman's style oc-

depth of heart is never in question. Here is a man who understands

and one of the most courageous.

so personal and prejudiced, and few poets so dependent upon the rare

inspirational moment to bring their

verses to life; but it is as the work of a man of his times that Mr.

Housman's is significant: he is the

individualist who sees the social in-sufficiency of individualism, the

artist who understands the supremacy of the art of living, the humanist who foreshadows in the most humanistic

of his writings the supercession of

humanism by a few synthesis which,

if he cannot reach it, others will not

have been able to reach but for him

and others like him.

And it is more honourable, perhaps,

High Priests.

There can have been few dramatists so prolific and yet so lacking in a sense of the theatre, few historians

THIS small book contains the paper read by the author to the Grotius Society on July 5, 1944, under the title: "On the Rights of the Individual, the Sovereignty of the State and Universal Law." Its subject - matter deserves sober thought. It is another tributary to the increasing stream of thought advocating the "liberation" of mankind from the tyranny of the sovereign State and power-politics. Humanity is the "suprema lex" over and above the political sovereign

State and positive law.

The function of Universal Law, which is ethical in content and purpose, and its organisation is not to bring about a uniformity of standards as between political societies

Torchstream Appeal from the jurisdiction of the nation-State. Its powers, however, are declaratory only.
Dr. Lachmann's treatment of the

subject is able and interesting but his statement of the comparative function of Universal Law as being "the prevention of and defence against wrongs," and of positive law as being "the protection of rights," is misconceived; for every wrong implies a violation of a right. The distinction, I think, is between legally established rights and ethically recognised rights. Universal Law is designed to redress the balance designed to redress the balance between the former and the latter where they come in conflict, and is concerned with the equities of civilised life.

This is a strong plea for the larger view of life, with an able and scholarly foreword by Mr. W. Harbut to protect the individual against wrongs which he may suffer under the operation of positive law. "The Supreme Court of the World" with its Supreme Senate of Judges and its supreme Senate of Senate of

THE DELUSIONS OF EDUCATION

The first article in a new series by WILFRED WELLOCK

MONG the great delusions of our time, none is more flagrant or disastrous than the belief in the enduring qualities of western civilisation, and that these qualities are due to the high cultural standards of the demography, which control and guide democracies which control and guide that civilisation — in particular Britain, the United States, and France, and now, I suppose, Soviet Russia

To-day the great democracies are much concerned about the number of years their young people shall spend in educational institutions, yet parents are most disregardful of the kind of education their children shall receive. The British nation is re-joicing in the social advance indicated joicing in the social advance indicated by a new Education Act which pro-longs the school life of its children, but parents are quite indifferent as to the content of the education that is to be given. The great majority assume that as a result of an extra year at school their children will get better that is better-paid jobs which better, that is, better-paid jobs, which

is what matters most.

They are not to be blamed for this. The only argument they have heard on behalf of an educated democracy, from the political leaders of all parties, is that if Britain is to maintain her standard of living she must retain her old markets and capture many new ones, to accomplish which she must greatly improve her industrial efficiency, increase the number and efficiency of her technicians and

business experts.

But we cannot all be technicians and experts. Indeed, it is the function of experts to cheapen production by introducing more specialisation, which will create more repetitive jobs for the masses, and in some cases more work for machines and less for men who, however, will be absorbed by new demands for armaments which increased competition for markets and consequent ideological clashes will ensure.

What, then, is education to do for that large army of people who are doomed to be mere feeders and servants of machines? The answer should be obvious but unfortunately it is not, and no government has the

courage to inform us. The fact is, these masses are to be doped by the second line of national educational defence, processes that are as essential to modern "democracy" as technicians and other industrial

experts.

First, they are to be fairly well supplied with money in the form of

wages and insurances. Second, they will be taught how to spend their money by the vested interests. Public houses, for instance, are rapidly being converted into major "educational" institutions. institutions. major "educational" institutions. Beer, which was once a beverage is being turned into a drug. The newspapers, the advertisers, the Totes and other betting agencies and inand other betting agencies and interests, are converting professional football, pugilism, dog and horse racing into vast dope-distributing concerns. We are moving steadily towards the blood-sports of ancient Rome, literally passing through the same era of decadence which Rome passed through immediately before her fall which, let us not forget, was fatal.

The West has made the mistake of associat-

The West has made the mistake of associating the astronomical output of daily and weekly newspapers, of cheap magazines and of books, with culture, whereas no more than an infinitesmal portion of it has any cultural value whatever. Much of it in fact is the negation, and even destructive, of culture. Its second error is to calculate the standard of culture a country has attained by the number of its schools, colleges and universities. On this basis the United States is more cultured than Britain, and Britain than France. The fact that Nazi Germany would have ranked high culturally on this reckoning obviously calls for a little caution.

have ranked high culturally on this reckoning obviously calls for a little caution.

Is it too shocking to suggest that what is taught in schools and colleges ought to be primarily concerned with the culture of the mind and spirit, and that fierce competition for well-paid industrial and commercial jobs, and for markets, may be more closely connected with class and national privilege, power-politics and war, than with real education?

Every unsophisticated person would naturally assume that the primary aim of education was to teach men how to live, how to discriminate between values, between good and evil, and thus how to discover what things make for life, verily increase life, and what things destroy life and reduce its quality. True education will help a man to decide to what extent the good life depends upon money, social position, "success," upon creative, family, social and religious values, and upon right relationship with his neighbours, human beings everywhere; it will also teach him how to establish that right relationship.

Such issues are not covered by any school or college curriculum today. A teacher here and there may feel constrained to dwell on them to some extent, but that is all.

Are these not startling facts concerning an Every unsophisticated person would natur-

Are these not startling facts concerning an age which boasts of being highly enlightened? (Wilfred Wellock's second article in this series will appear shortly.)

The non-violent way to a peaceful society

THE intellectual barrenness of J. Middleton Murry, which has led to such kaleidoscopic changes in his views in the last twenty-five years, has had some rude shocks. Like all those guilty of the error of intellec-tualism, he has never given actual experience sufficient attention to prove or disprove any of his theories.

He now tells us that he thinks non-violence is of no use against the scientific terrorism of the totalitarian police-State. Now that he has become almost blood-brother to C. E. M. Joad, A. A. Milne, and that other renegade pacifist, Beverley Nichols, perhaps he will tell us when he ever believed in a policy of non-violence himself. At one time, posviolence himself. At one time, possibly, in theory, as witness the fol-

lowing quotation:

"The only possible solution for a pacifist who is neither ignorant nor hypocritical, is one of resolute non-co-operation with the State in time of war. He is bound to refuse his services in any civilian capacity, and he is equally bound to refuse to pay all taxes demanded of him for the prosecution of the war. Thus he deliberately outlaws himself from society."

But never in practice, for when did

But never in practice, for when did Mr. Murry do anything to deny the false authority of a murdering State? Instead of actually putting his theories to the test he has lived by the second or third-hand experience of others. In lieu of non-violence, he has been Devil's advocate in every measure involving acceptance of State authority and coercive government, by which the pacifists and conscientious objectors have been misled in their struggle for human rights and decencies.

Law and morality

In so far as his discovery of the brutalising and ruthless conduct of governments is concerned, one would imagine that he began his study of history from AD 1939. Because of the queer conception that editors have, that readers like a little bit of everything, we had in the same issue an article by George M. Ll. Davies on the black record of the British Government in the Boer War, which doubtless will give Mr. Murry a shock similar to the one he got when he learned that Belsen and Buchenwald were not fairy tales.

Had he studied legislation, he would have discovered much earlier that the severest penalties are always reserved for those who defy "lawful" authority, rather than for those who break such laws as are more or less based on a moral code. It was even so in British Government in the Boer War,

A. G. HIGGINS

answers John Middleton Murry's recent article in Peace News on "Non-violence versus tyranny."

Christ's time, as "Give us Barabbas" may

But it is precisely because violence always breeds cruelty and injustice that the sincere man has to rely on non-violence. The rise of Hitlerite Germany and Soviet Russia was not a case of spontaneous generation, but the natural result of the belief and practice of conscienceless ruffianism by practically every government, which in turn was the result of man's insincerities, his greed and his faithless-

man's insincerities, his greed and his tenness.

And what is the democratic government, which Mr. Murry so believes in, but a reflexion of the average of these insincerities, this greed and faithlessness? How can he expect to build a noble edifice of righteous conduct, of non-violence on these shifting sands which move hither and thither as the seas of angry passion sweep over them?

The only foundation

The only foundation

There is only one rock upon which we may safely build, and that is the rock of Christ. Christ did not lead us to believe that the cruelties and wickedness of this world were fairy tales, but he taught three things of importance to us; one, that Satan cannot cast out Satan, that violence is never a cure for violence; secondly, that what would reduce the sum total of evil in the world was the substitution of good in its place wherever we met it; thirdly, that justice and goodness of God were realities and that whatever sacrifice we made for His sake would not be in vain and that the reward was certain.

Nowhere except perhaps in India has there been enough sincerity and purity of motive to animate a policy of non-violent resistance among the masses. And in India it did not fail because of the ruthlessness of the government, but because Gandhi called it off when he realised that even there the masses had not fully appreciated what ideal of conduct lay at the basis of non-violence. The threat of a general strike did do a good deal to stop our own rulers carrying on a war with Russia (vide Donald Port's pamphlet, also advertised in P.N).

But non-violence is not a policy which is only made for export. It must begin at home, and the sooner the pacifist movement realises it the better. At present the movement is childishly playing at it, most members flirt with politics to their moral and spiritual undoing, not realising that the regulation of so-called "ideological" wars.

The principles of a sound society are known here and now, but if an attempt is made to impose such a society by violence, such attempts must inevitably compromise and tolerate force for mean and unscrupulous ends. So much Christ knew and said, so much John Middleton Murry does not know, and by his various compromises has apparently ceased to be able to save either his own soul or anybody else's.

BIRMINGHAM PPU Public Meeting "LIBERATE MANKIND FROM WAR'

VERA BRITTAIN Stuart Morris Dr. Albert Belden Chairman: Ald. Harrison Barrow. Digbeth Institute, 7 p.m., Monday, 16th July

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2.30—4.30. 5.30—7.30.
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THEATRE OF WAR ANOTHER "Don't for a moment cherish that ing effect upon audiences of the more

superstition . . . that I am 'living the life'. If you had to spend a whole day dragging thorn bushes to a fire, or pushing wires into a hay-baling machine, you would soon abandon

o wrote a CO engaged upon agricultural work. Many must share his dissatisfaction with the basic labours which war circumstances and tribunal decisions compel them to execute. Yet there is a ten-dency in some circles to make a virtue of necessity and to cast a slur on pacifists fortunate enough, even now, to be free to create the felicities of civilization rather than the necessities

arts (and therefore of the artists) in war as in peace. We pacifists may war as in peace. We pacifists may learn a profitable lesson from the story of Benvenuto Cellini in a beleagured castle working at his im-provised goldsmith's forge to preserve the Papal jewels while he kept one eye on the breach of his gun at the

The so-called Cinderella of the Arts, the art of the theatre, being the most social of all arts, is of particular interest and concern to pacifists.

The classic definition of the function of the theatre in society is "to show ... the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." This function is by no means purely interpretative; still less is it primarily satirical. It is profoundly educative. What we contemplate, that we

Observe, for instance, the coarsen-

brutal type of war film. The "body of the time," however, is compounded of virtues as well as vices. We cannot shirk our responsibility in balancing the picture of life presented in the theatre. And every person who ever goes to a theatre at all can in-fluence directly or indirectly the com-panies, management, and playwrights (both known and potential) whom this chiefly concerns.

THAT is clear and obvious enough. What is less obvious to the layman is the function and responsibility of the pacifist actor. (And at present the percentage of COs on the stage of physical existence.

But unless we are prepared to see the cultural values of Europe die even in those hearts where they still live we must recognize the function of the arts (and therefore of the artists) in as a pacifist, any special responsibility as to the manner in which he does this? The answer is that he has.

Pacifism, more than any other creed not specifically religious, is founded on the value of the individual personality. The theatre presents persons more directly than any other form of art; both its subject matter and medium are persons. Thus the theatre (the most social art) can be the most personal of the arts.

But also more than any other, the art of the theatre lends itself to the exploitation of mass emotion and hysteria, and the conditioned reflex of a depersonalized crowd. Used thus it assists in the development of the "totalitarian mass psychology." (Much of the technique week by the technique week b of the technique used by the Nazi Party in, for example, its Nuremberg Rallies, has been borrowed from this type of theatrical art.)

IN common with the body politic of Europe, the theatre has reached a fork in its road.

After the Napoleonic "grand manner" in politics came the era of superficial democracy. After the "grand manner" of Irving on the stage came the era of superficial realism. Both have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. From sham democracy the people are turning to totalitarianism, dictatorship, worship of military genius: a new grand manner, as evil as the old.

as evil as the old.

Their only alternative is pacifism, Christian anarchy, community of individuals, call it what you will. In the theatre many people believe we shall develop a new anti-realistic grand manner, a new Irvingism, "theatrical," working for big mass effect. This would be in harmony with the modern development of political psychology.

mainer, a mass effect. This would be in harmony with the modern development of political psychology.

Just as we oppose our personal pacifism to mass totalitarianism, so in the theatre we must oppose an ideal of the personal theatre to the blatancy of a new grand manner.

oppose an ideal of the personal theatre to the blatancy of a new grand manner.

This vital link between the theatre and society is no imaginary bogey. Theodor Komisarjevsky (an exponent of a new theatrical grand manner) gives high praise to the authorities of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany for the type of theatre they have developed. On the other hand Nemirovitch-Dantchenko, who as joint founder of the Moscow Art Theatre, fought a long battle with the allied forces of officialdom and "theatrical" acting in Tsarist Russia, says that he regarded every member of his own company not as a "cog" but as a person, and quotes Kachalov as having said "that for the actor of the Art Theatre each new role is the birth of a new person."

The road the theatre will take is determined not by the plays presented so much as by the psychological and technical approach of producer and actor. Hence the importance in the wartime theatre of the actor or producer who is determined to work as a person, presenting persons on the stage to the individual persons in his audience, content neither with superficial "slick" realism, nor the "sure fire" reflex action of theatrical tricks, but delving at whatever cost to the soul of the actor, the character and the audience.

Such a theatre, and only such a theatre can assist to bring in and maintain a state of society where men live to the glory of God. We must therefore strive to create a theatre in which the highest possible value is placed upon the individual human personality on both sides of the footlights.

sides of the footlights.

ROSCIUS MINIMUS.

(The writer of this article is himself a C.U.

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vegetaria cottage, or near, give par crops. York.

"Peace and the People"

PEACE AND THE PEOPLE—are the PEOPLE interested in the PEACE?

Is this a surprising question? Only a few months ago there seemed little evidence of interest, though we all longed, many dumbly, for the lifting of the burdens of war. But on May 30 five thousand London people at least proved their interest. Two gigantic queues, one reaching nearly halfway down Victoria Street, formed outside the Central Hall. Directly an overflow meeting was announced the Livingstone Hall was packed to capacity and 400 more people followed Roy Walker to Hyde Park and listened to him, and to Vera Brittain, for over two hours.

And so, quite clearly, this summer provides the Peace Movement with what is probably the greatest opportunity it has ever had to go to public who, whether they are finally in opposition or in agreement, are now at least ready and willing to listen to us. Trafalgar Square, at any rate, is large enough for a good many of them to listen, and so in Trafalgar Square on the afternoon Trafalgar Square on the afternoon of Saturday, July 28, the Public Action Committee of the Peace Pledge Union will make its first big appeal to a country which has just elected a new Government, to take a hand in influencing the policy of that Government for peace. We that Government for peace. shall be able to listen to:

Patrick Figgis Henry Hilditch John Morley Stuart Morris Sybil Morrison

Mary Murry Donald Port Reginald Sorense's Roy Walker Wilfred Wellock

We don't merely ask you to come. We haven't much doubt that both old and new friends of the PPU will want to. But we also ask you most earnestly, in this lull after polling day, to make use of every single personal contact and every possible opportunity for public expression, to tell people what it is that we are going to do. We depend on our own efforts. It is not necessary to remind you of the bland ignoring of the Central Hall meeting by the national

We shall not easily be lost sight of in Trafalgar Square. And for those whose interest we have awakened there are, in London, open-air meetings in Hyde Park on Sun-day afternoons and Thursday evenings and lunch-hour meetings on Thursdays at Lincolns Inn Fields, as well as other open-air meetings in places such as Manchester, Bradford and Birmingham, addressed by pacifist speakers. These speakers of ours (ours by ties of affection and gratitude as well as by agreement on principle) need our support.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

What the P.P.U. stands for

This pledge, signed by each member is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union: "I renounce war and I will

never support or sanction another." If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the PPU, write for information to: The General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, pard House, London, W.C.1.

If you decide that you cannot support this or any other war, it will encourage others and may be helpful

to yourself if you join the Union.
The Union stands for the rejection
of war, for the method of seeking to
overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

FUTURE OF P.S.U. INS MANCHESTER

The experimental work of Pacifist Service Units had already been recognised as the answer to one of the most fundamental problems confronting social service workers, said Tom Stevens, leader of the Manchester Unit, at a meeting convened recently to endorse the future plans of the Unit. Family casework must remain the responsibility of PSU until there were other bodies ready to take it over, he went on. Even then, the PSU would have an important job to do in focusing local pacifist service work.

Pacifists had a distinctive contribution to make in the field of social service, said Ken Woodroofe—newly appointed PPU Service Secretary—precisely because they did not accept the assumptions of war-organised society. They had a different scale of priorities. This had been strikingly illustrated by PSU in dealing with problem families. It was in pioneer work of this kind, springing from a sensitivity to the evils which our society had perpetuated, that the distinctive function of pacifist service could be found. The approach of personal and neighbourly friendship, expressed in physical service, had been the secret of PSU work. It was no accident that that had sprung from a pacifist faith.

TWO MORE C.O.s TELL OF LIFE **UNDER THE GERMANS**

Asked men in Jersey to work for them

MORE details of the treatment of the English COs who remained in Jersey during the German occuation have been given by William Withers, who was recently patriated.

"We were treated the same as the other civilians," he writes.

"There were anxious moments, as when the Germans called up young men from time to time to work on their various labour projects. I believe some COs were questioned by the Germans in this connection but not until the spring of 1945 were any of them, to my knowledge, actually asked to work for the Germans.

asked to work for the Germans.

"At this time the Germans required landworkers to work on their farm at St. Brelade's and two of my friends (COs) were asked to work on this farm. They both refused, and neither of them heard anything further in the matter, though it is possible they might have done had not VEDay intervened.

"A rather amusing incident occurred in this connection when one of my friends told a German official who was questioning him that he was a conscientious objector. After looking in his dictionary under "conscientious" and "objector" the German shook his head and gave it up as a bad job.

"Some of the COs rendered good service to the Methodist Church in Jersey by becoming local preachers. This was a great help to the Church as their ranks had been depleted by the evacuation of June, 1940, and by the German deportation of September, 1942.

"I had an opportunity of conversing."

by the German deportation of September, 1942.

"I had an opportunity of conversing, chiefly by gestures, with one or two German soldiers. They all hated the war and were only waiting for it to finish.

"The average German soldier seemed a pretty good-natured sort of a chap, though they all seemed to lack a sense of humour except in the most obvious cases. They seemed to have no idea of what freedom is and to them the idea of refusing to fight was just impossible.

is and to them the idea of refusing to ngit was just impossible.

"The discipline of the troops throughout was commendable. None of the Red Cross supplies for civilian use was diverted to the German Army, and the soldiers finished up in far worse plight than the civilians."

Roosevelt's pledge

"I should be false to my deepest political convictions and religious faith did I not believe that in all people without exception lives some instinct for truth, some attraction note some instinct for truth, some attraction to justice, some passion for peace. We shall not enslave the German people, for the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery."

—The late President Roosevelt in a speech before the Foreign Policy Association in October, 1944.

Great kindness shown by doctors and nurses

CAN only speak in the highest possible terms of the kindness we have been shown by the doctors, nurses and staff of the Laufen hospital," writes Jack K. Nutley, one of the English COs who was moved from Jersey to the Laufen intern-ment camp in Germany.

He injured his knee in a football match at the camp, and declares that "only the skill of the German surgeon saved me from having an artificial knee-cap." His letter continues:

"One nurse had lost three brothers in the "One nurse had lost three brothers in the war, her mother and father were dead, and she was not sure of the whereabouts of her only remaining sister and was gravely concerned. This same nurse gathered wild flowers from the fields and brought them to the British internees in the hospital. She would do everything within her power to help us and refused to accept any little gifts we offered as payment in exchange. . . "I, personally, was far better off in internment in Germany than I was in the Channel Islands. .

"It is important to realise that in no circumstances is an internment camp to be confused with a concentration-camp such as Belsen or Buchenwald. This will be quickly realised when one appreciates what a marvellous 'university' Laufen became under the care of Milton Cooper and David Savage."

He gross on to describe the care of the care of the describe the care of the care the care the care of the care the care of the care the care of the care the care the care of the care the care of the care the

He goes on to describe the classes that were held, the discussion group, debating society, and fortnightly brains trust, and adds: "For our amusement we were allowed each week to go to a German cinema in Obendorf."

The camp was visited once every three months by representatives of the International Red Cross and the Protecting Power, and once every month by a YMCA official.

Chance to render service

There is an opportunity for anyone wishing to give service to a non-commercial social venture at the Community Fruit Service, Bleadon, Weston-super-Mare, where 2½ acres are devoted to the production of fruit and vegetables. The work would be suitable for a young person wishing to learn fruit-growing and market gardening, or for anyone else wishing to give their services.

Every summer Community Fruit Service makes a generous free distribution of its produce to needy communities, mostly in the locality but also in South Wales. As everything is distributed on a basis of need, and nothing is sold, no wages or allowances can be paid. There is an opportunity for anyone wish-

principle) need our support.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

CLASSIFIED A DVERTISEMENTS

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SUSSEX

News in brief

From another angle

From a letter to a PN reader in Britain written by a corporal who has been serving in South-East Asia Command since 1942:

I suppose the atrocity-films have been shown all over England. Whilst on leave we went to the pictures quite a number of times and towards the end got sick and tired of seeing the same few shots in the same concentration-camps time and time again.

If a cameraman could have spent three months in Calcutta during the Bengal famine of 1943, the resulting pictures would have been the samewithout any prison-camps or execu-tions, but with English people walking about their normal business.

Fourth court-martial

At his fourth court-martial, held at a Unit of the Pioneer Corps in North Wales recently, Albert Lombardo was sentenced to nine months' deten-

At his three previous courts-martial he had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, six months' imprisonment and 93 days' imprisonment with hard labour. After each sentence he had applied to the Advisory Tribunal which, on the first two occasions rejected his claim, but on the third recommended him for non-combatant duties in the Army, which Albert Lombardo felt to be against his conscience.

The sentence of detention deprives this CO of the right to a further Tribunal and Joe Brayshaw, Public Relations Officer of the Central Board for COs, has taken up the matter with the War Office in strong

Conscription conference

"Conscription—the Acid Test of Liberty" was the subject of a conference in Birmingham, on June 30, of 100 people representing trade union, social, political, pacifist and religious organisations. A. Joe Brayshaw, secretary of the No Conscription Council, was the speaker.

He argued that pacifist opposition to con-scription was rather against militarism, but fundamentally, for all, conscription was opposed to liberty and democracy. All political parties at one time or another had

opposed it.

We had won a victory in arms, but the victory of ideas was with Hitler and Mussolini if we were to continue with conscription. Moreover, a reserve kept in being by conscription could be called out by any government of any colour against any foe.

Those present agreed to support the local committuee which had been formed to coordinate activities.

I.V.S.P. youth schemes

Over a thousand boys and girls have so far served on practical service schemes arranged by the International Voluntary Service for Peace since the first youth harvesting camp in 1942. Although war has restricted the foreign volunteers to those who have sought refuge in Britain, the schemes have fostered the formation of personal friendships with those of other nationalities, as well as an interest in international relationships and a greater sense of responsibility as world-citizens.

As soon as conditions permit it is hoped to make these camps more truly international— both in Britain and abroad. For this projected expansion more adult volunteers are needed, to share the responsibility of running the schemes. Those interested are asked to write to the Youth Service Secretary, IVSP, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2, from whom the 1944-45 Youth Service Bulletin may be obtained, price 3d.

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 133

Women of the conquered nations, ith you we claim a true peace without violence-without reprisals After these accursed years we wish for a reconciliation of souls . . . The mourning of no German woman has ever alleviated our own . 🐔

Let us work together, amid the ruins and tears in the same holy war. Let us tear war from out all our hearts. Let us build for our children the common city of peace and love . . . affirm the fraternity which unites us, we whom mutual suffering and loss, we whom the agony of our fathers, brothers and sons have drawn nearer in the realization of our oneness.

-Message to the women of Germany in March, 1919, signed by seven notable Frenchwomen for the French Section of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace.

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THE BASIS OF MUTUAL TRUST

OBSERVER' CONTINUED

But no good is done either by Westerners pretending that Russia is Elysium, or Russians pretending that the Western world is a dungeon full of the benighted slaves of capitalism. The basis for mutual trust is the determination to look foremost, in Tchekov's words, to "plus values only."

Russia has done something tremendous; but so has the West. Russia has tamed the social anarchy of industrial capitalism; the West has established the idea of the liberty of the person. The conception of personal liberty has helped to create the social anarchy of capitalism. Can that social anarchy be tamed without sacrificing the liberty of the person?

Common ground

THAT is the fundamental question. Though it would not be solved in those terms by the successful co-operation of Russia, USA, and Britain in the rehabilitation of Germany, there is no doubt that successful co-operation in Germany would take the world an immense step towards the discovery of a common ground on which Communism and Capitalism, Planning and Democracy can be reconciled.

That there is such a common ground, and that the world will one day find it, I am convinced. Equally, I am convinced that Germany is the great laboratory where the discovery could be made.

If a tolerable and hopeful life is to be created for the Germans, it demands the restoration of the German economy as a whole. The material requisites are there: it is now reckoned that only 20 per cent. of German industry suffered damage (Economist, July 7). For the restoration of Germany as an economic and social whole, intimate and trustful co-operation between Russia and the

PACIFISM NO

ACIFISM is nothing if not

pression of a personality through action. Life is action.

For this reason any word with the suffix "ism" is suspect. A label is a

symbol of statis. A free personality

It is without significance in a

world at war for a man who is not intending to participate in that war to speak of "his duty to society." A

man's duty to society in these circum-

stances is to fight—that is what society wishes of him. In other

words, if a man resists war it is his

duty to himself and to God that is important and not his duty to

society, and this duty is the fulfil-ment of creative vocation.

Only through vocation will society be transformed and only through freedom will the individual be trans-

formed. A vocational society is a free society. It is therefore the task

of a man who refuses to recognise the validity of State-compulsion to kill, to discover his own destiny and

his own vocation. By this refusal he

if he is determined to discover his

own truth and to follow it at all

the right to appeal to society for protection, nor has he the right to

allow himself to be used by society. He has placed himself in the position

of a free personality, and he must

once. That is not of fundamental importance. He must, however, desire

to do this, and will therefore move

towards the discovery of vocation, and towards transformation.

There is no need to attempt a justification of freedom. Freedom is

a force more fundamental than good

and evil, which are secondary classi-

fications-freedom was before the

Fall. Freedom is the expression of God in man.

He may not be able to do this at

This implies that he has no longer

taken upon hi

act as such.

is never static.

a creative assertion of

freedom and personality.

No ideal is of value for its own sake. True ideals are the expression of a personality only to be negative and that is his destiny, well and good. But if he can conceive and desire positive action, then his life must be the positive action.

den as great as that of those who negative position, is unable to act fight, and his position is valid only creatively, to develop vocation or to

a bus.

asunder into mutually hostile territ-tories. Even I should be surprised if the statesmen on both sides do not regard this possibility as the unmitigated disaster it would certainly be.

Question of confidence

HOW powerful a factor in deciding which way the stream of events will move-towards world co-operation or world-war—is the confidence of the mass of men? That is, certainly, at a very low ebb indeed at the present moment.

"Opinion polls conducted on a national scale in USA, Canada, Australia and Great Britain, all show very strong minorities of the public saying that they expect another war within the next 25 years. In none of the countries are as many as half the people prepared to say definitely that they don't expect another war in this period; in all of them over a third say that they do." (New Statesman, July 7.)

Staving it off

HAT is strikingly different from the mood at the end of the last Then there was general confidence in world-peace: world-war was the outcome. Is it a more hopeful sign that we should begin in the opposite mood?

Perhaps it is. For this reason. The shape of the next world-war is not vague, but definite. If it comes, it will be between Russia and America. Indeed, we start the period of "peace" in a condition of tension which at any previous period of hiswhich at any previous period of history would have been regarded as the final phase before war. Just as it used to be felt that any delay in the actual beginning of hostilities increased the chances of peace, so, assuming as I do that world-war will be staved off for a minimum of ten years, I feel that the chances are that the bigger and deeper crisis will be overcome.

Obstacle to realism

THIS is a hunch, rather than an co-operation between Russia and the Western Powers is essential.

There is no escape from this necessity except by tearing Germany

To refuse to kill is negative. To

assert freedom and creative values

is positive. If a man has the power

tive fulfilment of vocational freedom, whether through carpentry, healing

the sick, mending roads, writing poetry, preaching freedom or driving

It may be that a man's destiny is

to kill. No one who does not kill has

a right to judge the man who does so. Still less has the man who kills

the right to judge him who will not, since "Thou shalt not kill" is a tenet

A man, however, who believes in

sabotage, and this would merely help

creatively, to develop vocation or to fulfil his destiny, unless he moves

beyond this attitude to a complete and personal "pacifism." The only

standard is integrity.

True integrity can be reached only by the development of understanding

and creativity. A man who is neither fighting nor expressing creativity in his life during the war is not per-

sonally alive. He is parasitic. Creative values are the only true cosmic values. There is, therefore, no room for compromise in this

matter.
That all pacifists should know

their vocation and act it is not to be expected. But that all nacifists should be seeking that vocation and

living in accordance with the pro-

gress of that search is essential. Only

in this way can the problems of

war and peace, power and freedom, good and evil approach solution.

even of the normative law.

the enemy of his country.

fore in an inescapable dilemma, and being forced

By J. B. Pick

"PREPARATION FOR PEACE"

P.P.U. SUMMER SCHOOL

SUNDAY. "Survey of PPU activity." Lecturer: Roy Walker. MONDAY. "Peace-making in society." Lecturer: Tom Stephens.

TUESDAY. "Thinking ahead." Lecturer: Howard Whitten. WEDNESDAY. Free day. Evening talk on Work Camps by John Hoyland. THURSDAY. "Reaching the people."

Lecturer: Donald Port. FRIDAY. "The vision of peace." Lecturer: George Davies.

Lecturer: George Davies.

Lectures will be given in the morning. A discussion on the same subject will take place each evening. The programme has been arranged to cover the various aspects of PPU life and work, relating them to the task that confronts those who in the present situation would be peace-makers. It is hoped that the programme may prove useful as a guide to those responsible for arranging other PPU conferences. John Barclay will again act as conference host. Between 30 and 40 will attend. A report will appear in Peace News later.

ourselves of some deep-rooted prejudices if we are to accommodate ourselves to it.

Among these (I suspect) is the idea that it is dangerous to speak frankly and freely of the dangers of the international situation—that the more a condition of tension can be diplomatically veiled, the more likely have been true in the old days of diplomacy. My hunch is that it is the opposite of truth today.

The mechanism of propaganda has become so powerful, the medium of propaganda has become so powerful has been true in the more likely that has been true in the more likely that has been true in the old days of diplomacy.

propaganda so all-pervasive, that honest realism has now lost all its dangerous properties. It has become purely salutary. That does not mean that it is easy to arrive at an honest realism.

To form a grounded judgment of the issue between Left and Right in Greece, Chungking and Yennan in China, Royalists and Republicans in Belgium, Lublin and London in Poland, and Russia and the West everywhere, is incredibly difficult. One can only persevere in the effort, partly for its own sake, partly on the hypothesis that propaganda is, in the long run, self-destructive.

An Indian Cabinet?

LORD Wavell's honesty and integrity of purpose have made an impression on the Indian politicians. They are setting seriously about pre-paring the panels of names from which the Viceroy will choose, subject to the parties' approval, their representatives on the interim Executive Council. Whether from these the Viceroy will be able to make a selection acceptable to both sides remains to be seen.

The decision of the Congress Working Committee to go forward with the selection of its panel is welcomed by the Daily Telegraph (July 6) in

killing, yet regards a particular war as wrong, logically should resist that war by violence, killing both sides indiscriminately. This is impracticable. His only course, therefore, is the Daily Telegraph (July 6) in these unaccustomed terms:

"The Working Committee's decision must be regarded as one of the most important they have ever taken. It is the strongest proof hitherto of the determination of Congress to co-operate with Lord Wavell in working the new proposals. All going well, men like Pandit Nehru, Valabhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad will form the Indian Cabinet, ensuring the most efficient handling of the vast problems confronting the country." I would point out that printing pamphlets advocating sabotage is ethically the same as committing it, though far less noble, since it involves less risk. This man is there-

TO LIBERALS

In view of the fact that so many COs seem to support the more Left-wing political parties it gives me much pleasure to see that I am not the only CO who supports the Liberal

not the only CO who supports the Liberal Party.

There has long been a pacifist fellowship within the Labour Party and I am wondering if we could do the same within the Liberal Party. I should be very glad if all pacifists who are members or supporters of Liberalism would write to me at the address below.

BERNARD GEHRKE,

22 Totteridge Lane, Whetstone, London, N.20.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL TIPPETT IN P.N. RECENTLY

The Flowery

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